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CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2432/Rev.1)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)	1

NOTE

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2432nd MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 13 May 1983, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2432/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2431st meeting of the Council, I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Grenada, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table. Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Ethiopia, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali and the Seychelles in which they ask to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Traoré (Mali) and Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them document S/15753, containing the text of a letter dated 9 May 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Mexico, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation offers its best wishes to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your vast experience and that of your country are a guarantee of commitment to the cause of peace in your work in this body.

6. For the second time in six weeks the Government of Nicaragua has been compelled to come to the Council to denounce the continuance of the escalation of violence in Central America, which threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and endangers international peace and security.

7. I thank the Council for giving me this opportunity to reaffirm the grave concern of the Mexican Government at the situation prevailing in Central America, the recurring violation of international legality in that region and the dangerous trend towards disregard of the right of self-determination of peoples.

8. The declaration by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua [*2431st meeting*] refers to facts that demonstrate the undeniable worsening of the crisis in Central America and an increasingly obvious trend towards foreign interference in the internal affairs of the States of the region.

9. In the face of this trend, which heightens the threat of internationalization of the Central American crisis, Mexico has redoubled its efforts in favour of dialogue and negotiation as methods for the peaceful settlement of regional disputes within the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. Together with the Govern-

ments of Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, and in the framework of the Contadora declaration of 9 January 1983,[1] we have stepped up our contacts and consultations aimed at the reduction of tension in the area and at the search for practical mechanisms acceptable to all parties which can lay the groundwork for the advent of peace.

10. Following the last discussion held in the Council in connection with the Nicaraguan complaint [*2420th-2427th meetings*], the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the four countries made joint visits to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, at the invitation of those Governments. In the course of these visits they were able to appreciate the desire of the parties to co-operate and to get their views and opinions concerning the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace.

11. In the light of those talks, they invited the Central American Foreign Ministers to a second stage of consultations in the Republic of Panama in April, in order to promote effective communication and achieve constructive dialogue among the Governments of those countries. That second stage made it possible to define the main issues in the dispute and to formulate an initial diagnosis of their nature. As a result of that meeting, our Governments reaffirmed their profound conviction that through formulas for peaceful settlement and a genuine spirit of negotiations it is possible, in a positive way, to deal with the disputes afflicting the countries of the area.

12. We have received testimony of open solidarity with our efforts from many Governments, and we feel that we have contributed to the strengthening of a peace-making spirit with regard to the question of Central America which has enlisted the overwhelming support of international public opinion.

13. In the joint declaration signed by the Foreign Minister of Mexico and the Secretary of State of the United States at the conclusion of the third meeting of the Binational Commission established by the two Governments, the two affirmed that, having exchanged views on the situation in the Central American region, "they agreed to promote processes of dialogue and negotiations with a view to avoiding armed conflict and to promote the establishment of peaceful conditions and economic development".

14. Other countries on the continent have offered their total support for our efforts. On the conclusion of an official visit to my country, the President of Brazil, together with the President of Mexico, signed a declaration in which the two expressed their deep concern at the "worsening of the situation in Central America and the increasing risk of military conflicts spreading throughout the area". The two Presidents

> "considered it urgent that effective negotiations should be conducted between the parties involved in the crisis and urged them to refrain from any actions that might further worsen the situation. Furthermore, they recognized that a permanent solution will only be possible without foreign interference."

They also agreed that

> "The Central American crisis derives from the economic and social structures that prevail in the region and, therefore, efforts to resolve it should be aimed at avoiding the tendency to describe it as a chapter in the East-West confrontation."

15. We are convinced that that declaration reflects an increasingly firm and widespread conviction among the States Members of the Organization. In spite of this, the climate of threats and verbal aggression has intensified and the centres of confrontation have mutiplied. While many are working sincerely for peace, it would seem that some are attempting to achieve it through war.

16. During the past weeks there have been military and political events that underline the danger of growing interference in the internal affairs of the Central American States, Nicaragua in particular. If this trend persists, irreparable damage would be done to the Organization through the violation of the cardinal principle on which it is based: respect for the sovereignty of States.

17. The President of Mexico, Miguel de la Madrid, recently issued a harsh warning in this connection. He stated:

> "The international stage is not a preserve for unilateral action nor should it be a testing-ground for a few. It is incumbent on the society of States, as a whole, to take decisive steps to deal with the crises of our times."

He also reiterated that Mexico will continue to work to ensure that our Central American brothers find, in the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the best guarantee of their right to live in peace and to seek their own road to democracy and development.

18. Given the seriousness of the situation which prompted the present debate in the Security Council, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Panama, Venezuela and Mexico held a consultative meeting which ended early this morning in Panama City. After having thoroughly studied the events, they reiterated their intention to continue their diplomatic quest for a solution to the disputes in the region by promoting dialogue, understanding and the establishment of political machinery for guaranteeing the full attainment of their objectives.

19. In that connection and pursuant to a request made by the Government of Costa Rica, they decided to send a mission of observers to the frontier zone of that country with Nicaragua, composed of representatives of each of the countries of the group. It will be responsible for identifying the facts, evaluating the circumstances and presenting whatever recommendations are deemed appropriate.

20. The Foreign Ministers of the four countries "note with deep concern the development of the Central American conflict over the past few days and the repeated violation of essential principles of the international legal order". They recognized that "these circumstances have given rise to various initiatives aimed at seeking the intervention of multilateral organizations". The Foreign Ministers stated that:

> "It would be highly desirable that in the deliberations taking place in the aforementioned forums, and especially those currently under way in the Security Council, there should be a strengthening of principles which should guide the activities of States in the international arena.
>
> "These principles include: self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of other States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for committing acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts." [*See S/15762, annex.*]

21. A State Member of the Organization has brought to the Council's attention a situation which from every standpoint endangers the maintenance of international peace and security. It has done so in full exercise of its right under Article 35 of the Charter. The Council is duty bound to offer a rapid and effective response to the problem brought before it. It must contribute resolutely to the negotiated settlement of the present conflict, as the conscience of the world requires.

22. The Government of Mexico believes that the draft resolution drawn up by developing countries, non-permanent members of the Security Council, contains the essential elements for furthering a peaceful solution of the disputes in the region. It affirms the primary competence of this body in the maintenance of collective security; it emphasizes fundamental principles which are at stake, and it affords the countries committed to the Contadora effort additional support to continue their work. Furthermore, it requests the Secretary-General, in accordance with the authority conferred on him by the Charter and the willingness that he himself has expressed, to use his good offices in co-ordination with the Contadora Group with a view to achieving the solution to problems which affect peace in Central America. That could be done in the way considered appropriate to the circumstances by the Secretary-General.

23. The efforts being made by countries and groups of countries in fulfilment of their responsibilities as Member States to help find a peaceful solution to international disputes should in any event be resolutely supported by the United Nations and should be related to the actions taken by its competent bodies.

24. We thank the international community represented here for its support of the peace-making efforts of our countries, and we trust that all States, within the region and outside it, will listen to and heed the appeal made to them to refrain from any acts that may render difficult the efforts of the Contadora Group and aggravate the situation.

25. We hope that this draft resolution will command the unanimous approval of the Council. That would constitute an unequivocal and highly significant political act which would initiate the process of détente and the restoration of peace in Central America.

26. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, allow me first of all to join those who have already welcomed you to New York and wished you well in your new post as your great country's representative to the United Nations. As members of the Organization of African Unity and of the movement of non-aligned countries, and also as developing countries and militarily small nations, Zimbabwe and Zaire have many common interests. It is my most sincere hope, therefore, that our two missions here in New York will continue to co-operate in promoting and protecting those interests and in working for international peace and security. My second pleasant duty is to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. As you must surely have already realized, this is a very exacting position, and May is promising to be a very hectic month. However, your own vast past experience as a minister in your country's Government gives us justifiable confidence that the Council, charged with primary responsibility for international peace and security, will be in good hands during the month. For our part we of the delegation of Zimbabwe would like to assure you of our full co-operation with you in your work.

27. I also wish to pay my delegation's tribute to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, representative of the United States, for a very productive presidency of the Council during April.

28. Turning now to the subject of this meeting, my delegation observes with deep regret and concern that once again within six weeks the Republic of Nicaragua has been compelled to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council on the delicate and rapidly deteriorating situation within and around its borders. Unless immediately checked, the buildup of tensions on the Nicaraguan-Honduran and Nicaraguan-Costa Rican frontiers will soon lead to open military conflicts in the area. The Security Council, the only body which the international community has charged with primary responsibility for international peace and security, must be gravely concerned about a conflagration which will inevitably follow such an outbreak of military conflict, as the consequences of such a conflagration for regional stability and international peace and security will be incalculable.

29. We note with encouragement, however, that, concerned about the grave dangers threatening peace and stability in the area, some of the Governments in the region have already taken initiatives aimed at preventing any further escalation of the situation. We are referring

here to the initiative of the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the Contadora initiative—the long-term objective of which is the ultimate normalization of relations among the affected States by peaceful means.

30. Our delegation is equally encouraged by the repeatedly declared commitment to a negotiated solution by the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, which was also reaffirmed by its Minister for External Relations, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, in his statement to the Council on 9 May [*2431st meeting*] and again in a letter of 2 May addressed to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz [*S/15742*].

31. It is the view of the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe that the Council must insist on and exert maximum efforts towards negotiated and peaceful solutions to the problems which are afflicting Central America. There is no viable alternative policy to this, and there can be none. My Government would like to see United Nations efforts for peace in the region exercised through the Security Council and through the personal involvement of the Secretary-General. We believe that the first positive step in this direction is for the Council to adopt a resolution which, among other things, gives the Secretary-General authority to initiate without delay good-offices efforts, preferably in co-ordination with the Contadora Group.

32. In addition, the Council should warn all concerned, and especially States outside Central America, to refrain from any interference or intervention which is likely to lead to the aggravation of the situation and which might frustrate the peace efforts of the Secretary-General and the Contadora Group.

33. Finally, as we are fully convinced that no settlement can bring real and lasting peace unless it has the complete respect and support of the parties directly involved, it is our hope that at an appropriate stage Nicaragua and Honduras will have an opportunity for a serious dialogue, possibly with the assistance of the Secretary-General and/or the Contadora Group. We also feel that such a settlement, resulting from direct talks between the two, would be greatly enhanced by a similar dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States. To achieve their objectives, the dialogues which are being recommended here must be undertaken in a spirit of seriousness and candidness, and among equal sovereign States.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Seychelles. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

35. Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): Mr. President, as you have been a foreign minister and have served both your country and Africa well, we are confident that your expertise will guide us during this troubled time.

36. The Republic of Seychelles continues to support Nicaragua's right to independence and urges all States to abandon policies of intervention and destabilization and to seek political solutions through diplomatic channels to settle whatever differences that might exist between them and Nicaragua.

37. In Seychellois society, the family is in reality a community in which its members co-operate closely. It is not a relationship based on the dominant—one might say domineering—authority of a single member. The political or idealogical direction of the family is not exercised by one member alone, in the position as head of the family. Each member has the right to participate in all important procedures. But none of the family members has the right to interfere in the normal relations between others, especially distant relatives. The present foreign interference from Honduras, upsetting normal relations within the Central American community, exposes this family member to reprisals and a possible major military confrontation.

38. By the use of Honduras as a base for a destabilization programme against Nicaragua, current hostilities in Nicaragua may expand into a war between the two countries. This is not the normal course of action taken by family members when trying to settle their differences. But then Nicaragua is not looked upon as a member of a family by some foreign interests. It is considered to be more of an orphan needing the supervision of a headmaster or a headmistress.

39. As a result of the current infiltration of counter-revolutionary forces in Nicaragua, the escalation of violence grows worse day by day. This relentless policy of covert action risks spreading the fire that blazes in Central America to other nations and continents. It disheartens all those attached to peace and who respect the dignity of people. Under the Somoza régime, the Nicaraguan people endured their calvary with courage and pride, and each new ordeal they now suffer only makes them still more determined in their endless combat to survive.

40. The will of a people must never be underestimated, as it has been in the past. The re-establishment of peace in the Central American community will not come through inhuman intensification of suffering and mourning for the dead, but through negotiation with the true representatives of the Nicaraguan people, the Sandinist Government. Distant regional relatives must be convinced that intervention is a frightful, frightening mistake, which no victory can end. How many more casualties are needed for these truths to be recognized and accepted as the basis of the necessary and urgent negotiations?

41. While foreign military involvement in Nicaragua continues to be well documented by the international and the American press, the reason for its involvement is not. We can only conclude that the true objective of such involvement is the overthrow of the present Government in Nicaragua. Let us remember that the international community outlawed intervention as an instrument of foreign policy of States. In this connection, references

must be made to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 1970 containing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

42. My delegation would like, in closing, to reaffirm the concern of the Republic of Seychelles about the worsening situation in and relating to Nicaragua. The loss of Nicaraguan lives is due to the thinking that Nicaragua does not have the right to independence and territorial integrity. It is the hope of the Republic of Seychelles that through negotiation and dialogue—as good members of a family settle their disagreements—this thinking will be reversed.

43. In this respect we support the Contadora initiative which favours peace in Central America. We plead with the Secretary-General to use all the influence that he has in order to ensure that the Contadora plan is implemented and that some positive results are achieved.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

45. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me first of all to convey to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. The important responsibilities you have assumed in your own country and your vast experience in international affairs, with which we are all familiar, will unquestionably be of benefit to the work of the Council this month. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, for the distinguished work she accomplished last month.

46. The Algerian delegation is speaking once more on this item to express, with a feeling of growing concern, its anxiety at the ever more dangerous development of the tension and armed confrontation in Nicaragua, in particular on that country's borders with Honduras.

47. Our duty as regards international peace and security and our anxiety about anything that threatens them, as well as our solidarity with a friendly country, make it incumbent upon us, in this consideration of a complaint which was made to the Security Council a year ago now, to associate ourselves with all those who hope that in the final analysis the worst will be avoided and the peoples of the region will be spared misfortune and disaster.

48. I wish to pay a tribute to the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, who, at the conclusion of his statement in this debate [*2431st meeting*], pointed the way, through reasonable dialogue and with the appropriate partners, to a peaceful settlement of the conflicts which involve the countries of the region and other, more distant countries. In that statement, he said:

> "We have not come here to engage in recriminations or to seek compensation for damage. We do not know how one could bring back to life all our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters who have fallen victim to the murderous bullets of Somozists who are spreading terror in our homeland and who at this very moment are killing our heroic border guards, peasants, students, technicians and doctors—Nicaraguans and foreigners alike—as well as members of our glorious Sandinist People's Army, the reservists and militiamen.
>
> "We have come before the Council to respond to aggression and death with an invitation to frank and constructive dialogue. We abhor war; we cherish peace. What is the response of my Security Council colleagues?" [*Ibid., paras. 45 and 46.*]

49. My delegation believes that the important contribution of Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann contains serious, positive elements which could bring an end to the present process of violence and confrontation, the continuance of which serves the interests of no country in the region. This reasonable and sensible effort on the part of Nicaragua, at the very time it is the victim of a flagrant act of aggression and of scarcely camouflaged intervention in its internal affairs, should find a response in the Council so that the guidelines may be established for a restoration of peace throughout the region.

50. From this standpoint, Algeria notes with satisfaction the efforts undertaken by the countries of the region, which have just been described by the representative of Mexico. In particular, Algeria supports the efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela to sketch the outlines of a lasting, comprehensive settlement of the crisis affecting the Central American region. The meetings which have taken place among those four countries in the last few months, and even more recently, constitute a highly responsible initiative and offer the promise of a peaceful outcome. Our duty is to encourage this initiative and any proposal which might preserve the chance of achieving a secure and lasting peace. We hope that the efforts of this group, the Contadora Group, will be successful and that they will be supported and continued through action by the United Nations itself.

51. The convergence of the wills of the countries of the region and of the international community, through appropriate and necessary action by the Secretary-General, should make it possible to overcome the present crisis and to avoid a tragic extension of the conflict.

52. Algeria, in stressing before the Council today its concerns and its hopes, has acted in strict conformity with the positions taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, both in the final communiqué issued by the Foreign Ministers of its Co-ordinating Bureau at their Extraordinary Meeting at Managua in January this year [*see S/15628, annex*] and in the documents adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi in March [*S/15675, annex*].

53. For our part, we should like to repeat our fervent hope that we may see the beginning of a true dialogue

between the States concerned. There is no other way to put an end to the present escalation of aggression, the uncontrolled process of interventionism and the increasingly bitter declarations of hostility.

54. The Council owes to Nicaragua's remarkable co-operativeness this valuable opportunity once again to put to work the resources of multilateral diplomacy for preventive purposes. In the face of the unforeseeable consequences entailed by the dangerous development of the situation, the Security Council cannot but use the full weight of its authority to bring about the restoration of peace and a peaceful settlement of disputes. In this task, it is the individual and collective responsibility of members of the Council to be guided solely and exclusively by the need to safeguard international peace and security. We trust that this will be the case.

55. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Grenada. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

56. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): Sir, at the outset I wish to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of May. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank Council members, through you, for inviting me to make this presentation.

57. These Council meetings have been convened at the request of the Government of Nicaragua in an effort to promote peace and good will between itself and its immediate neighbours. This is another attempt by the Nicaraguan Government, consistent with its stated policy and its unimpeachable practice of encouraging dialogue and negotiation in order to reduce tensions in the Central American region, to avert a conflagration that would consume the entire region and would undoubtedly have ramifications far beyond the frontiers of Central America. The aforementioned facts must inform our deliberations, because they define the parameters of this session and underline its significance.

58. Today Nicaragua is calling on us to act in accordance with our innumerable resolutions and declarations in favour of international peace and co-operation and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination. In truth, Nicaragua is calling upon us to invoke the relevant sections of the Charter of the United Nations which enjoin all of us to act in favour of peace.

59. We are meeting here today against a very tense background. Numerous appeals for peace made by regional and extraregional Governments, including France, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and even Nicaragua, have been arrogantly dismissed. We meet at a time when the threat or war between Nicaragua and Honduras looms ominously on the horizon, when the obstructionist policies and the bellicose rhetoric of a permanent member of the Security Council are fanning the flames of war in our region.

60. Just a few days ago the mercenaries operating with impunity on Honduran soil were accorded the status of "freedom fighters". Recently also the United States challenged the legitimacy of the people's Government of Nicaragua. I respectfully submit that any statement that questions the legitimacy of the Government of Nicaragua must put Orwellianism in the shade. How could a Government that embraces the racist Pretoria régime and that stands behind those who commit genocide in Namibia, Sabra and Shatila question the credentials of the sovereign Government of Nicaragua?

61. Three years ago a new crusade in the name of democracy was started. It seems as though it is the democracy that legitimizes mass murders; the democracy that makes its protagonists angels and the rest of humanity the disciples of Satan; it is the democracy of frontiersmanship, of policemanship, of backyardism and frontyardism. We do not claim to have made the definitive pronouncement on democracy. We do not arrogate to ourselves the right to certify what is and what is not democracy. However, we know that real democracy is sensitive to the needs and to the aspirations of peoples and that real democracy cannot be predicated on an imperial creed.

62. The people of Latin America are the proud inheritors and executors of the lofty ideals proclaimed by Bolívar, Martí, Sandino and Fedón. We are fed up with the policies that regard our soils, soils saturated with the blood of our martyrs, as someone's "game reserve", "strategic reserve", "commercial frontier", "backyard" or "frontier". We are realists. We know the United States; we pay homage to its great people; we understand its concerns; we respect its sovereignty; but we fail to comprehend its contempt for our Government and its historic opposition to any attempts made by our peoples to liberate themselves. It is painful when we consider the fact that the contempt and the implications hurled at us by successive United States Governments, including the Reagan Administration, are the same ones as those that were hurled at the American people some 200 years ago when they struggled and won the first successful anti-colonialist revolution in the hemisphere. Sometimes history is an important teacher.

63. Two hundred years ago American revolutionaries were scorned and hounded like beasts. For example, the Earl of Sandwich, speaking in March 1775 for a policy of forcible repression of the American revolution, declared:

> "Suppose the colonies do abound in men, what does that signify? They are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish instead of 40,000 of these brave fellows they could produce in the field 200,000; the more the better; the easier would be the conquest ... believe me, my Lords, the very sound of cannon would carry them off ... as fast as their feet would carry them."

64. Perhaps, too, it would be useful to look at how the American people protected their own glorious revolution

in the early days. Counter-revolutionaries who are today killing innocent Nicaraguans, having been trained and financed by the United States Government, were described by John Adams, a distinguished American, as: "the most despicable animals in creation; spiders, toads, snakes are their only proper emblem". The American revolution developed mechanisms to protect its revolutionary gains, as all revolutions must, and those mechanisms were the Councils of Safety. In March 1777, the New Jersey Council of Safety was empowered to gaol all counter-revolutionaries. In Morristown in July of the same year, Council members arrested 48 counter-revolutionaries in a single day.

65. For those reasons we fail to understand why United States Governments have attacked and continue to attack Governments that have attempted or are attempting to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked and to give land to the landless tillers. Instead of the co-operation and good will that these Governments deserve, United States Governments have overthrown them or subjected them to tactics of destabilization. How can the United States reconcile its professions with its practices?

66. Arbenz was overthrown when he tried to release his country from the treadmill of grinding poverty; Allende was brutally murdered and his Government was brought down, only because he was trying to give his people some of the bread that their own hands created. Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are singled out for punishment because they are attempting to emerge from the cultures of brutality and oppression created by the bloody dictatorships of Somoza, Batista and Gairy.

67. Why is the United States Government defying the will of our people? How democratic is it if it scorns the will of our people? Indeed it was a former Secretary of State of the United States who, in reference to Allende's Chile, said that the United States could not countenance socialism in Chile if the Chilean people were so irresponsible as to elect Salvador Allende. Whose will should be respected? That of the oligarchies or the tiny cliques that extort taxes from the poor? The transnationals that make men beasts of burden? Is free enterprise the freedom of small cliques to exploit the majority? On the totem pole of democracy does free enterprise come before free men?

68. Today we call for justice, because injustice is suffocating the poor peoples of our region. We demand peace, because war is debilitating our peoples. We call for understanding, because the lack of it is perpetuating our wretchedness. In order to build new and just societies, thereby fulfilling the dreams of Bolívar, Martí, Sandino and Fedón, we need peace, because peace is an indispensable prerequisite for development. Peace and development are inseparable.

69. In the name of my Government and on behalf of the people of my country, I wish to reaffirm Grenada's unstinting support for the constructive proposals put forward by the Contadora Group and also for those proposals outlined by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua. We believe that the involvement of the Secretary-General in the ongoing discussions must have a positive effect, given his interests, his wisdom and his well-established qualities of leadership.

70. Finally, it is our view that failure to act now in consonance with the Charter of the United Nations would be tantamount to sentencing the people of Nicaragua and, indeed, all the peoples of our region that cherish justice and freedom to deprivation, destruction and death.

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): While some have chosen the irresponsible and destructive path of violence, Nicaragua has consistently and with an admirable sense of perseverance pursued the path of international legality. That it has come to the Council for the third time in the span of one year seeking redress for the unprovoked and wanton aggression to which its people continue to be subjected is further proof of its strong commitment to peace and legality. It is, furthermore, a manifestation of the trust which the people and the Government of Nicaragua still repose in the Council. Whether the Council will, despite its past failures, now rise to the challenge of that trust is yet to be seen, but it is our sincere hope that it will.

73. For our part we pay a tribute to the Government of Nicaragua for its perseverance in the search for a peaceful negotiated solution to the crisis its country is facing. In this connection we cannot but express our admiration to the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, whose clear and eloquent statement defined the nature and scope of the problem under discussion and underlined once again the gravity of the situation facing his nation. In that same statement [*2431st meeting*] he identified the major party—indeed, the very source of the problem—while at the same time indicating to the Council a peaceful course of action which is in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

74. As we all recall, two representatives spoke after him—which indicated not merely their interest in the matter but perhaps their direct involvement in the conflict as well. One made a long statement which in both substance and tone, and even in its irrelevant and discourteous references to countries outside the Central American region, was almost identical to the statement the other had made to the Council on an earlier occasion. That they spoke the same language did not come as a surprise to us inasmuch as the countries of those two representatives are actually acting in unison to destabilize the Government of Nicaragua. What surprised us, however, was the cavalier manner in which they dismissed the concrete issues presented to the Council by Nicaragua's Minister.

75. One in fact refused to address himself to the item on the agenda and opted merely to make a statement in exercise of the right of reply, in which, unfortunately, the Government of Nicaragua was both lectured on the virtues of American democracy and invited to adopt it as its own. Moreover, both representatives not only refused to address themselves to the problem at hand but even went so far as to attempt to deny Nicaragua its sovereign right to resort to the Security Council for assistance, on the untenable ground that others in the region which face internal upheavals had not done so. The fact that Nicaragua is building up its armed forces was given special emphasis, as though disarmament was the natural and logical path to follow for a country faced with external aggression and internal subversion supported from without. Furthermore, we were informed that arms were being illegally shipped to El Salvador through Honduras, as if control of Honduran territory were the responsibility of the Government of Nicaragua. Moreover, both representatives, regrettably, chose to comment extensively on issues which properly fall within the domestic jurisdiction of Nicaragua and which, as a result, had no direct relevance to the Council's agenda.

76. Perhaps the only point in those statements that was relevant and worth pondering was what one of them had to say regarding bilateral negotiations. In rejecting bilateral negotiations with Nicaragua, that representative—knowingly or unknowingly—gave the clear impression that his Government, which he likened to a piece on a chess-board, could not act independently to settle its differences with its immediate neighbour without the involvement of an external Power, which, again, he compared to a giant. If in fact that was the impression he intended the Council to have, it is indeed a sad reflection on the sovereignty and national independence of his country.

77. In the sometimes unreal world of diplomacy such evasions and, I must say, even deceptions may be an acceptable practice in extricating oneself from difficult and embarrassing situations. But let no one have the illusion that through evasion and deception the issues can be confused and those responsible exonerated. This will definitely not happen. What is unfortunate, however, is that in the process the opportunity to halt and reverse the deteriorating situation in the region could have been missed and the Council rendered impotent in the face of such blatant acts of aggression.

78. Despite all the obfuscations, the issue to which the Council must address itself could hardly be any clearer. A handful of countries which for very obvious reasons feel threatened by the long-term prospect of a successful revolution in Nicaragua have arrogated to themselves the right to choose the form of government the Nicaraguan people should have and the type of ideology they should follow. To this end, they have organized, financed and trained individuals who are opposed to the Sandinist revolution and have, indeed, launched them recently on an open invasion of Nicaraguan territory.

79. As the Minister for External Relations has clearly stated, these mercenaries are wreaking havoc on life and property within Nicaragua. The responsibility for these acts of aggression and subversion lies squarely on the Governments which have masterminded these military operations as well as on those which have allowed their territories to be used as staging grounds and rear bases for the armed incursions. Those responsible are, of course, known to the whole world, but what the world does not know, and would surely like to know, is under what norm or rule of international law or what moral principle these Governments have undertaken such a large-scale operation of interference and intervention.

80. If the reason of power rather than the power of reason and legality were to be given primacy in the conduct of international relations, the world would undoubtedly be plunged into chaos and anarchy. Reason and legality, we are convinced, are on the side of Nicaragua. All acts of intervention and aggression against Nicaragua must, therefore, cease immediately and unconditionally. All avenues which might lead to a peaceful resolution of the problem should be explored and exhausted. By acting with courage and decisiveness in seeking to achieve these objectives, the Council would not only save a small, weak and impoverished country from the claws of a big, powerful and rich one, but would also help put a stop to the creeping anarchy that is threatening the very fabric of international relations.

81. Finally, Sir, allow me to discharge the pleasant duty of congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of this body and of extending to you the best wishes of the Ethiopian delegation for a successful and fruitful term of office. I should also like to thank the members of the Council for acceding readily to my delegation's request to address this body on the agenda item before it.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTE

[1] A/38/68, annex.

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